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476
574 that all participants in the tãtáupáũã [90] are called this. Nothing
264 could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than
[101] this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

171 The word tãtá is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá
824 [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs
[194] from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

[192] The word upáũã means "everything eaten."

The word tãtáupáũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

264 Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life.
476 Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.
574 The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the
[611] men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while
123 the second chief, Vũãtanamĭ', was a Pananĭvũána. As I lived in
[622] Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

264 Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers
476 and sisters.
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[608] Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond oc-
[621] casionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

264 At certain times the entire population of the village gathers to-
574 gether for the tãtáupáũã, which at such times is not really a feast
621 carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũihó, or "bad kãũí" (literally, "big kãũí" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the
[252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũí, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

264 476 574 [224] such as the head and legs, which they gave to those members of their family who did not belong to the same eating group.

The feasting had already begun before the sun was up. In the [345] takána, the large dance house, which is essentially a men's house and [562] thus as a rule not visited by women, the Ãvãinkí of both sexes sat [352] [94] on straw mats stretched for the purpose around large pots containing the roasted pig. The animal was cut up in such a way that the pieces could easily be held in the hand.

When I appeared, they all graciously invited me to help myself. [123] I declined, stating that I was a Txankanépéra, and in view of this they did not insist further.

Naturally, members of other eating groups may ask the feast participants for a piece. Custom, however, demands that they withdraw after receiving what they requested. Only members of the same group may sit in the circle surrounding the pots. As a rule, however, a member of another group does not come to the people who are feasting and ask for a piece.

123 264 476 574 In any case, I did not want to carry my pride in being a Txankanépéra too far, and therefore I accepted the invitation of a special friend, Vuãnomantxí, whose wife had prepared the bulk of the food for the Ãvãinkí and thus earned the pig's head for her family. While she sat with her group-fellows in the takána, her husband and son, and a few other persons who were not relatives but who belonged to the family, so to speak, because they were the only other occupants of the small hut, lay across their hammocks and chewed contentedly. When I came in, Vuãnomantxí tore from the pig's head the piece that he considered the best and offered it to me. I began to chew on it, and this required much fortitude because the meat was very tough. [95] When my chin began to hurt badly and I was certain that I had swallowed enough of those awful bites, I craved a bonus and asked for the brains. My friend smiled--he always had a friendly smile for me, thoroughly joyous and relaxed--and gave me to understand that my tastes were not inferior to those of the most illustrious Tapirapé. Then, with his athletic strength, he broke open the skull, handed me the bulk of the brains, and stuffed the rest into his mouth.

264 476 Before the sun was up, only the pig's bones remained in Vuãnomantxi house and in the takána.

[574] [611] Aside from the tãtãupãũã, there is another institution which also involves eating in hereditary groups. It is called apatxirú. Its purpose,

264 476 [622] [651] only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the preparation of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxá were the chief Tanupantxóa and [624] Vuíraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairá and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

476 857 In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuírantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxá belong [611] to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were [881] Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in [462] all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirũ group has its specific ornament 301 476 535 237 for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxá also wear three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

192 Concerning the word apatxirũ, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as follows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirũ is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

476 [123] [99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the apatxirũ. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among
[182] the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[611] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

554 An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
581 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
597 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
592 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son